1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

food.[9] He must not open or move the basket without a ritual, which was the recitation of part of his ceremony for food or purification. The Papago believed that unauthorized people, reciting only a few words of such a ceremony before a village fetish, could produce a flood. 778

Because of the flimsy construction of the ceremonial house, the village fetish was often kept hidden in the hills and was brought back with special rites just before a ceremony. It was always hidden in winter when the people made their yearly move, when they hid or buried all their property which they could not carry with them. It was safer, however, to keep no sacred objects near human habitations. "Their power might get loose," and sickness or flood would be the result. The writer observed this fear in connection with a "scalp basket," kept by descendants of an old enemy slayer. The basket was kept in a far corner of the yard, concealed in many wrappings and inside a barrel. Permission was reluctantly given the writer to unwrap and even to photograph it, but the owners shut themselves inside the house so as to be out of reach of danger.

OFFERINGS

Eagle down was the offering *par excellence*, placed with a fetish, deposited at a shrine, or worn at a ceremony. It was always plucked ritually, the act being so dangerous that purification was required of the eagle killer. Other people traded for the down and tried to keep a little on hand as much-prized wealth. Rarely, however, did they make it into prayer sticks. The Papago statement was that the down had value on account of its resemblance to clouds and that it was attached to a stick only to keep it from touching the ground. Such sticks were made for the prayer-stick festival, for an eagle killing and for the salt expedition. 778 782

The usual stick was unpainted, about four inches long, pointed at one end so that it could be driven into the ground and having a notch at the other end. One or two feathers were fastened with sinew to each end of a cotton string. The string was put through 778

[9] Cf. the feeding of Zuni fetishes (Parsons, 1939, p. 324), and Cochiti (Goldfrank, p. 69).

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the notch at the top of the stick and tied around the neck of the stick with another string. Under certain circumstances turkey down replaced eagle down, but the feathers of no other birds were used.

At the harvest ceremony all prayer sticks were painted blue (the Zuni color for men). After the salt gathering at Santa Rosa they were painted both blue and yellow. Occasionally a stick two feet long was "planted" in behalf of a group. This was done at the prayer-stick festival at Quitovaca, where the stick was painted with a red spiral, and by the salt gatherers from Akchin, who tied a red cloth around it.

Though there was a word for bird down, there was no word for prayer stick, which was simply called "sacred object," as were the fetishes.

Deer tails were as desirable as eagle down for accompanying a fetish. The scalp basket unpacked by the writer contained four of them. They should be, if possible, from the black-tailed deer, the white-tailed variety having "no power." Tails from a deer ritually killed were important ceremonial objects, used at the cleansing ceremony and in curing "deer sickness." However, the tail of any deer formed a valuable offering, and hunters did a thriving trade in them.

Tobacco was offered in the form of cane cigarettes; their ceremonial name was "reed joint." Each consisted of a section of *Phragmites communis*, three or four inches long and filled with *Nicotiana attenuata*, the variety grown by the Papago. If no reeds were obtainable, corn husks were used as cigarette wrappers. Cigarettes were always smoked before being deposited, the votary taking four puffs, in the four directions, then stating his wish.

Beads, usually of turquoise, were a less common offering, but highly valued. The request for offerings made in behalf of one village fetish ran: "Bring your valuable things, eagle down, deer tails, and beads."

Certain occasions demanded the use of corn meal, which must be made of "flatheaded corn" (two ears growing together so that each had one flat side).[1] Such meal was most lavishly used at the prayer-stick festival, and it is significant that Navitcu, the cere-

[1] Cf. Mason, 1918, p. 22.

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monial clown of this occasion, is said to have taught the Papago 782
to summon him at other times by placing corn meal in his hand. 243
They invite all workers for the festival in this way, and, moreover, special officials make a corn meal "road" for the dancers in the Pueblo manner. Officials also sprinkle corn meal on all who enter the ceremonial enclosure, and at least once on all the inhabitants of every participating village. Corn meal is also used on other occasions. Holding a pinch of it in the hand is the method for summoning the shaman and the curing singer, and it is strewn on the ocean by the salt pilgrims.

PURIFICATION

All who took part in a ceremony, or at least the important offi- 783
ciants, observed continence, fasted, and finally took a cold bath to remove the supernatural influence. Cold water was the accepted Papago method of purification. It was obtained by allowing water to stand in the wind in a porous jar, thus being cooled by evaporation. A burdensome duty of the women folk belonging to any ceremonialist was the fetching of fresh water and making a new porous jar.

Fasting was raised by the Papago to extreme importance. During 783
food ceremonies the officiants abstained from meat, grease, and salt 785
in the Pueblo manner, but the power ceremonies demanded self-denial amounting almost to starvation. One may conjecture that these Spartan measures required as much endurance as did the running demanded of visionaries. They served the practical purpose of fitting a youth for the rigorous life of a desert hunter and warrior. Women also fasted and ran, though to a lesser degree. It would seem that the Desert People, in whose lives food and running were recurrent necessities, had elevated these prosaic needs to ceremonial virtues.

Blowing tobacco smoke upon someone was a milder form of 783
purification. It was used by the shaman to cure illness and also by 276
those who purified a man who had been in contact with supernatural power. In the old rituals blowing tobacco smoke is a form of prayer which placed a man in contact with the supernatural.

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ingly. Each man took only one horse, rode it to the salt beds, loaded it, and walked home. Each pilgrim must keep his horse fresh for the trip. If he had none, he might borrow, and no one would dare refuse. The compensation to the horse's owner was half a load of salt, or one saddlebagfull. The saddlebags taken were the ancient netted receptacles of maguey fiber. Inside these the salt was wrapped in handwoven cotton sheets or, in old days, fiber mats. Each pilgrim must make ropes of hair or of maguey fiber, for a bridle and for hobbling his horse. He wore, in the old days, only breech cloth and sandals. At his waist he carried two canteens, made of gourds, covered with rabbit skin, and slung in a grass net. He also carried a pouch of parched corn meal and the small watertight basket which was his only utensil for eating and drinking. Beside the corn meal, "ripe men" might carry as much dried squash, tortillas, or any other food as they could manage.

For all equipment there was a special vocabulary, analogous to that used on the warpath. The horse was called the partner; the gourd, the jar; the basket, the dish; pinole, gruel; hay, weeds; salt, corn. For other common terms there were words showing a similar slight variation. These words the neophyte must learn and not misuse, under pain of accident on the journey.

Each village took prayer sticks in some form, to be offered to the ocean. The following list will show the variety introduced under the general heading prayer-stick offering:

Komarik: prayer sticks with two turkey or eagle feathers. Left at each camping place, and one thrown by each man into the sea.

Pisinimo: eagle down; no sticks. Each man brings his own down and throws it into the sea.

Anegam and Santa Rosa: peeled white sticks of western willow; no feathers. Carried by leader. One placed at every camp, and one given each man to throw in the sea.

Akchin: sticks with turkey or eagle feathers carried by leader, placed at each camp along the way and given men to carry into the sea and to bring back again. One large stick, with streamer of red cloth, planted on the beach.

San Miguel: strips of red cloth thrown into ocean.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

All the villages took sacred corn meal as an offering. It must be made from flat-headed corn (two ears growing together, so that each had one flat side). Each man brought his own in a small pouch of rabbit skin carried at the waist.

During the period of preparation a meeting was held every night, at which the leader received reports of progress. When the last day arrived the leader asked: "Are you ready? Is everything new?" Next morning, when the dawn star rose, they started.

THE JOURNEY

There were two accessible salt deposits, reached by different routes. One route led straight south, through Quijotoa and Sharp Mountain, requiring only two days and a half. However, this meant forced marches, when the men had sometimes to travel half the night in order to reach the one camp which had water. The village of Akchin, which followed this route, took the minimum time for ceremonials and recited no long speeches. The other route led west to Ajo Mountain and then south, past the present Pinacate. This took four days; Santa Rosa and Anegam, which followed it, had long rituals for each of the watering places.

They rode single file, with the leader ahead "like a quail with her young." All the contingencies of the journey were dealt with by forms of sympathetic magic. They must never step off the trail, for that might "ruin somebody's [some animal's] house," and the animal would become their enemy. They must never think of home and their women, for this would delay their progress. For the same reason, they must always sleep with their heads to the ocean that it might "draw them on." They must never spill a drop of the precious water from their canteens, or they would be punished by a flood. This happened to one informant. As a result, the party had to ride in a cloudburst, and they found the salt beds so flooded that they could scarcely excavate any salt.(4)

They observed the usual ceremonial restriction of speaking slowly and in a low voice, and Santa Rosa men were not allowed to speak at all.(4) For the neophytes there were other rules. They must obey every direction instantly and must never walk, but al-

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317 Then they scattered seed, and it came forth.
484 A thick root came forth;
x539 A thick stalk came forth;
Great broad leaves came forth;
A fair tassel came forth,
And well it ripened.
Therewith were delightful the evenings;
Delightful the dawns.

Thus, indeed, should you think and desire, all you my kinsmen.(5)

SALT GATHERING AND SEA POWER

317 Akchin reached the salt beds on the day after viewing them from the peak. The procedure was brief, for the men had left their extra canteens several hours' march away and must reach them before night. As they neared the salt beds, the leader urged them to hurry. They dismounted without ceremony; grubbed into the earth for the long stones embedded there, and with them smashed salt lumps and proceeded to load them. As they did so, they adjured the salt: "Belight! We are going back to see the old women." (6)*

317 782 When each man finished loading his horse, he approached the leader. The latter had, laid out before him, the sacred corn meal, the peeled prayer sticks, and the newly cut scratching sticks, also a piece of red cloth (in old days one of the hand woven headbands). This cloth he tied to a large unfeathered stick, which he planted in sight of the sea, with the usual invocation. Then he gave to each man a pinch of corn meal in his left hand and a prayer stick in his right. He also gave him a scratching stick to tie on his belt, with the instructions:

10. I give you, as your property, this stick for scratching. You will run, and you will reach the water. You will see how it continually comes toward you. You will approach it, and you will throw corn meal; corn meal you will pour upon it. There will come another wave: you will throw corn meal. There will come another (wave): you will throw corn meal. There will come another (wave): you will throw corn meal.(6)

[887] * This refers to the old women who came out to meet the pilgrims on their return, begging for donations of salt.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The men walked into the sea, throwing corn meal on the approaching waves, as they were bidden. To these desert people the waves had a peculiar horror, and the mere facing them was considered an act of bravery. Men who seem to make no great matter of battle or starvation have recounted to the writer with deep pride how they walked in up to their necks. They have heard but vaguely of swimming, from the Seri and the Yuma. To them the ocean is the edge of the world, fraught with power and death.

The Akchin men retained the prayer sticks in their hands as a protection. After they had faced the fourth wave, they went back to the leader. They gave him the prayer sticks to be used on another occasion and dusted off any corn meal that had remained on their hands into his pouch. Then they left, walking behind their horses. Any visions which the ocean might vouchsafe would appear on the journey home or during the subsequent purification.

Santa Rosa and the other villages of the western route traveled two days after viewing the ocean, since they must go along the coast some distance before reaching salt. The place they used, called Salty Badger, was a bed a quarter of a mile long and half a mile from the gulf. On reaching it, the neophytes dismounted and Akchin planted a prayer stick. Then the neophytes ran four times around the salt bed, counterclockwise(1, 4, 5),[19] while the older men galloped around on their horses.

Then they began to break up the lumps of salt and spread them to dry on sheets or mats. As each man picked up his first lump, he made the motion of passing it over his body, saying: "Give me power. Let me safely reach my home."(4) Some addressed the salt bed: "We mean no harm. We have only come to gather salt."(5)

While the salt was drying, the neophytes went into the sea. In some villages each man had his prayer stick and corn meal; in some the leader provided it. One, San Miguel, threw into the sea only scraps of red cloth.

Pisinimo ran to the top of the first sand dunes, whence the waves could be seen, and there strewed corn meal, saying: "Be favorable to me. Be smooth. Let me run and see what I shall see." (1) When they reached the water, Pisinimo again gave an invocation: "Be

[19] Cf. Huichol, Lumholtz, 1900, p. 19.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

favorable to me. Give me life. Let me be a runner; a shaman; a singer; a hunter."

All those who had their prayer sticks threw them into the sea. If, for some reason, a man was not acceptable to the supernatural, the waves would return the prayer stick. The most usual reasons for rejection were failure in sexual continence during the preparations for the journey or the fact that a man's wife might be menstruating. However, "the sea cleans the sticks." If a man persevered and threw in his offering four times, it would be accepted.

Sometimes a man himself was taken by the sea and engulfed like the prayer sticks. Speech No. 8 speaks of such an experience. No one attempted to rescue the drowning man, for he was being summoned by the supernatural. He might reappear after many years as a powerful shaman, or he might be turned into a bird or a fish.

Any object which a man saw while in the sea was a special gift to him from the supernatural. If he noticed a strand of seaweed, a shell, or a pebble, he sprinkled corn meal on the object, then took it home as a token, very powerful in cleansing salt pilgrims. A kind of seaweed known as "ocean foam" was particularly desired. Sometimes a man took hold of something which, when he found it in his hand, lost its beauty, and in that case he must put it back exactly where he found it, again sprinkling corn meal (5).

After their entry into the sea, the neophytes ran on the beach: a strenuous test of their powers. There was a headland some twenty miles from the salt bed, according to informants, and the men ran to this and back, not stopping except on the headland itself. Some men are reported to have perished from cold and exhaustion during this run, but all trained for it during their whole boyhood, for it was here that a magic experience was expected.

Everything that a man saw while running was an omen for his future career. One informant saw a flock of white cranes, which seemed to him to be men running. He followed them and was able to keep pace, and from this he knew that he would be a great runner. One saw the white cranes playing with a kickball, and knew that he would excel in this sport. One, exhausted from running,

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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know those songs. Many nights I lay on my mat, hearing them each one four times, eight times, sixteen times. Some women are thinking only of baskets and they do not remember such things. But I remember. 159x 755 533

Once I got sick myself. It was from my father's scalps, they said. My father had been a Slayer three times by then and in our house there was a basket with four Apache dolls. Prisoners, we call them. My father would send us all out of the house, and he would take down that basket and talk to them. "Now, my children, I am going to give you tobacco. Now, my children, here is a little food for you." Then he would give them some of the good squash we had just taken from our field. 159x 798 782

But somehow he must have angered them, so that they felt they were not treated well. Those Prisoners are very wild. They come out of their basket like little men and run about the house at night. It happens even if you do not make them into dolls as my father's guardian did; even if you simply lay the hair in a basket. They come like handsome men and lie beside women and make them sick. They pinch you and pull your hair at night, or they swing up and down in their basket and whistle. Sometimes a man comes home to see a handsome young man coming out of his house. He goes in angry to his wife, and she says there has been no one there. It was the scalp. Then the owner must give it eagle feathers and speak kindly to it. These Prisoners are dangerous. [753]

They did not come like a man to me, but my head ached, I vomited. I ached all over. The medicine man sang and smoked all night, and then he said: "It's the Prisoners."

The only thing to do was for men who had taken scalps to come and sing for me the songs they had dreamed when they were being purified. There were four Slayers in our village. They were Spider Hole, Squirrel Ear, Yellow Legs, and one had just a Mexican name, José. 159x 755

They came in the evening. My sleeping mat was moved up close to the fire and they sat around me. Each had four down feathers from under the tail of an eagle fastened to a little stick. That is one of the most sacred things we have, those eagle down feathers, because they bring the rain; they almost *are* the rain. All men who have Prisoners have those feathers to keep their Prisoners quiet.

They took their feathers out of little deerskin bags, and then took gourd rattles in their right hands. I like to hear a gourd rattle; it makes me want to dance. But it cures the sick, too. It is a great thing.

First Spider Hole rattled, and sang four songs that had come to him in his loneliness after he had killed an enemy. Then he blew over me and he cleaned me with the eagle's feathers, brushing them over me. Then all the

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

When smoking individually, a man might do so merely for pleasure or to communicate with the Great Spirit. Thus, while out walking somewhere, he might sit down to smoke and blow the smoke upward as a kind of unexpressed or incipient prayer, meanwhile talking to the tobacco or the smoke. But, in such cases, he must always finish the cigarette; that is, smoke it to a short stub, then roll it into a ball and gently place it on, or stick it into, the ground. A Papago, while smoking, must talk to the smoke which carried his prayer, else it would have no virtue. A man in trouble always smoked, and it was customary to do so before engaging in any endeavor, either personal or collective, for this was looked upon as a great help. It was done either to obtain aid for specific things or for the general welfare, such as planting, seeking rain, securing good crops, curing, health, preparing for warfare, sports etc. In planting or otherwise caring for his crops, a man, while smoking, blew smoke over the field, asking the Great Spirit that his crop grow well, that he have a good crop and that his relatives might benefit thereby. A man planning to run a race against someone from another village might blow smoke toward that village. In this case he would not talk to the Spirit but would say to his opponent, "You are not a great runner, I can beat you." He might also blow smoke toward the Apache when preparing to go to war against them, or toward the Gulf of Mexico when preparing for a salt expedition. One could talk to the Spirit without smoking, but smoking was thought to be an aid.

Pima informants said that to them everything was mysterious, and for this reason prayed to the darkness. At night a Pima would smoke and blow the smoke on his breast saying, "Kind darkness, give me good rest and good dreams and may nothing harm me." They also had great respect for the sun, well-nigh amounting to worship. In the morning the Pima would blow his smoke toward the sun saying, "Oh kind traveling sun, pity me. Give me the strength that whatever

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

796

a, Site of spring in which children were buried

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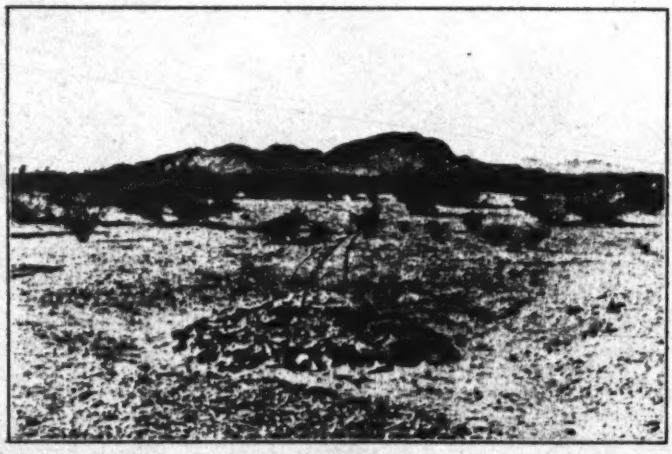

b, Site at which offerings are made

[p. 114-B]

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

796 In former times the Viikita ceremony was held every four years, that in the north being in November and that in the south being in the latter part of August or in September. Two derivations of the word *viikita* were given, the most reliable informants stating it came from a word meaning "to fast," while others said it came from *viiki*, [785] meaning white downy eagle plumes. Fasting was part of the observance, and white eagle plumes were worn by the dancers. In the northern part of the reservation this ceremony was held near the "children's burying ground." A tradition states that a spring overflowed and threatened the country with inundation, so two children were buried alive in it to stop the flow of water. Because of this tradition it is customary for either two or four girls and boys to take part in the ceremony, representing the children who were thus sacrificed. This is peculiar to the northern observances of the ceremony. The origin of the ceremony is, in this region, attributed [776] to a deity called Navico, who is said to have given the gourd to the Indians.

Stones are heaped above the spring in which the children were buried, and the place is surrounded with branches of ocatillo cactus stuck in the ground. (Pl. 18, *a*.) These are renewed every year and heaps of discarded branches can be seen in the background. After this spring had been choked a smaller spring issued from the ground [782] a few rods away. This was covered with stones, and there the Indians place offerings of various trinkets or valuables. (Pl. 18, *b*.) Around this heap of stones is a well-worn path, and straight paths extend from this to the cardinal points. It was said that a person bringing a gift to the place should enter by one of the radial paths, run around the heap of stones, and run out by the path on which he had entered. The location was a few miles from Santa Rosa village. (Cf. Lumholtz, op. cit., p. 105.)

Four villages united in the northern ceremony, which was held for the last time in the year 1912 at Arci, located about halfway between Santa Rosa and Anakum. The other three villages taking part were Santa Rosa, Anakum, and Akcina. People living elsewhere and attending the ceremony connected themselves temporarily with one of these villages. About fifty people came from each of the four villages, and in each there were about six men who had charge of the ceremonial articles.

A ceremonial inclosure was made with an opening toward the east and at some distance was a similar inclosure where the singers rehearsed the songs. The walls of these inclosures were made of cornstalks, and the height of the wall was the length of two rows of cornstalks, the upper row overlapping the lower. This made a wall about 10 feet in height. Preparations for the ceremony included the gathering of the watermelons and the making of many tamales tied

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

778 offering. The jar is buried in the ground and a small
782 mound made above it, the central part of which is covered by a flat stone. Ocotillo sticks, stripped of bark, are placed upright, two toward the east and two toward the west, and empty cartridges, bits of glass, small seashells, as well as pebbles, had been deposited here. The little shrine is just outside of the rancheria, toward the end of the slope that runs down gently from the mountains near by. The rain-water, in times gone by, had
[134] formed furrows and small arroyos everywhere, making the country look wavy. The earth around the roots of the ever-present greasewood bushes resists the short-lived torrents, and they presented the same appearance of growing high above the ground on top of mounds which usually is due to the action of the wind. At one place where the ground was level a vast number of light yellow flowers were growing, forming a carpet-like covering among the greasewood. Quantities of broken pottery were lying about to the north-east of the small shrine and here, according to tradition, was the former site of the rancheria.

361 In spite of my satisfactory meeting with the Keeper of the Smoke, he seemed to have efficiently blocked my purchase of any more important objects, so I decided to make a tour of the several rancherias to the north, where the sway of my uncompromising and despotic friend did not reach; perhaps on my return conditions might change. The next rancheria to the north is Ánekam, hardly three miles away, but it is a community distinct from the preceding one and even more primitive. In

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

sky became cloudy with occasional light showers. Two of the Mexicans went out to look for *carne* (meat), which was sadly needed where so many people, all with ravenous appetites, were assembled. My principal hunter, whom we called Charlie because, though a Mexican, he hailed from Arizona, had been promising us mountain-sheep for two days. "At this time of the year," he said, "the sheep are on the tops of the mountains, where the females are having their young." But scaling the tops brought him no reward and he did not find even one fresh track, so his compatriots began to make merry with him.

About the middle of the day, however, our attention was suddenly attracted by the repeated sounds of rifle shots from above in the mountains. After a while our hunter appeared on top of a sloping ridge above the camp and shouted for a burro to carry the quarry to camp, a message which gave us all much satisfaction. It was a fine, large ram which the combined efforts of three Mexicans lifted up on the pack animal. In camp it was hoisted by the hind legs to a branch and carefully skinned and opened. In the stomach were found the flowerstalks as well as leaves of the white brittle bush, an herb called *golondrina* (*euphorbia polycarpa*), reddish in color and blooming at that time, also some of the parasitic plant that grows on the palo verde and palo fierro. Another and smaller mountain-sheep was brought in and an essential part of our provisions was successfully settled for some little time to come.

Queléle had put in readiness all the sacrificial objects we had brought along for our proposed visit to the sacred

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

cave, and he had made several improvements in the arrangement of some. As the time drew near for our excursion, I felt little inclined for the vigil of one night which had been agreed to, so I asked him if a couple of hours' devotional exercise might not be sufficient for our needs. Clemente and Guadalupe, though perfectly willing to comply with the conditions, confessed that they did not know any Pinacate songs. By this and similar arguments we succeeded in changing the old man's mind, and he delighted me when after thoughtful reflection he declared that it was not necessary to sing now that we had so many sacrificial things.

I had decided to take Monday, January 3, for the visit, combining with it an ascent of the one of the two peaks which was nearer to our camp. In the morning the wind changed to west and north-west; a chilly, light shower of rain fell, but when we started from the tinajas for the ascent at 10.40, the weather was clear, there being only a few nimbus clouds in sight. As we followed the fairly distinct Indian trail that winds its way along the ridges upward, I observed the chuparosa (*beloperone californica*), the flowers of which are eaten by the Papago, and also quantities of the well-known plant chia in the small arroyos and declivities. One hour's march brought us to the base of the cinder-covered cone where the cave was situated. Many years had gone by from the time of Queléle's last visit to the sacred precinct; his hair was not gray then and more than one generation had passed since. He could not at once find the object of our trip and half an hour was spent in searching for it in the lava flow.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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778 There was an entrance to a subterranean cave which he distinctly remembered not to be the right one, and here we noticed some marks cut in a sahuaro which was growing near the hole that led downward. Our cave turned out to be a long natural tunnel, the bottom of which ran for some twenty feet below the surface. The roof of the tunnel had fallen in for about ten yards just where the entrance to the holy place had been, and hence our guide did not at first recognize it. The passage is believed by the Indians to run westward underneath the mountains, [776] then under the sea until it reaches an island where Elder Brother's wife lives. The god has another though less important "house" some miles from this cave on the same side of the mountain, but this I did not visit.

778 It evidently filled Queléle with dismay that "Íitoi's [776] house had fallen down." The god himself had caused 782 this destruction in anger against the people who no longer came to deposit offerings and do him homage. Some old, weather-worn sacrificial objects were observed around a small natural terrace down in the opening, as well as in the cracks of the rocky sides. Our guide was too old to descend himself, but he asked the two Indians, Guadalupe and Clemente, to perform the sacrifice for him. They clambered down and Guadalupe deposited in a crack of the old lava the ceremonial objects we had brought along. These objects were an arrow, as a mark of respect and for the use of the god; a prayer-stick, colored by red ochre with a small eagle plume tied to its top, to secure luck in hunting; a bunch of yucca fibre tied in a knot, in order that the wind might

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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778 be favorable to us; some cigarettes for the god's personal
782 use; a piece of blue glass bead necklace, for the god to use as appendages for his ears and for the septum of his nose. On their own account Guadalupe and Clemente each placed a strand of fibre in order that nothing untoward should happen to either of them while on the expedition, asking especially for protection against storms.

While this was being done the old man lighted a cigarette and, turning his face toward the west where the sea is, though hidden from view by the peak that rose above us, he made his prayer aloud to Ĭitoi, smoking now and then and blowing the smoke in the same direction.

"I did not come to visit you because the weather was bad," he said. "Now I have come to leave these things here. I could not find your house because it is so different now. With whom are you angry? Perhaps you are angry with us because we do not visit you more often. A man comes here from the other side of the sea to know your house. I bring him and his companions from Sonoita. Give good luck to the man and to us all. Give good luck to the hunters that he has with him. Give them a mountain-sheep that you do not need for yourself. Give me good luck on my return home. Don't let it rain while I travel. Stop the wind."

000 The ceremonies over, he began to make his way back to camp while we continued our ascent at one o'clock in the afternoon. Near the rim of a small crater, two-thirds up from here, quails and a cotton-tail enlivened the scene. I had expected to be troubled by

[pp. 210–267 not processed]

Immediate reasons Papagos work--

461 Aside from the necessity for earning enough cash
794 to buy food and clothing, there are other reasons for
796 earning money. During the picking season three important religious events occur. These are the feast days of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis Xavier, and All Souls Day of the Roman Catholic ceremonial calendar. A very high proportion of the tribe goes to one or another, or all three.

795 Although several denominations have gained a foot-
184 hold among the Desert People, the vast majority are orthodox or Sonora Catholics. Harvest hands in 1950 were about 95% Catholic.[1] The rest are about evenly divided between Protestants and individuals consciously rejecting Christian allegiance to practice native forms of religion or none at all. The Presbyterian church has the largest following among Protestant groups, with six congregations on the reservation. [797] There are other missions on the reservations. However, missionary activity does not extend to labor camps.[2]

484 From the great reservoir of Papago Catholics come
788 the pilgrims to Magdalena, San Xavier, Chuwhiy Guwsk
782 at fiesta time. These pilgrims make their journeys primarily to keep promises they've made to the Saint, or to ask him to intercede for them. Because they have
755 very deep faith in the powers of St. Francis to cure
796 illnesses, the Desert People frequently vow to the Saint that if the petitioner or one of his loved ones is cured, he will visit the statue of the Saint in the Magdalena (or San Xavier or Chuwhiy Guwsk) church. Often the person vows to make four such visits, to place a number of candles for the Saint, to leave him an amount of money, perhaps even to walk from the border to Magdalena or to perform some other penance.

78 Not all those petitioning the Saint seek health.
[796] Some ask aid in business, love or other ventures. The
[798] Desert People bring statues and pictures from their household shrines and chapels to press against the statue of the Saint for his blessing. They buy yards of bright ribbons, sold in shops thrown up about the

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[1] Based on information from 35 individuals.
[2] Not 1 of 9 persons questioned had seen a missionary in 1950. 1 had in a previous year.

484 Franciscan missionaries to the earlier date of their
179 own St. Francis of Assisi). The fine old mission
[188] church at San Xavier del Bac is the goal of Papago pilgrims at that time. In 1950 about 15% of the Desert People picking cotton who left their jobs made the journey to San Xavier.[1]

541 One secular event in the fall competes with religious celebrations for the interest of the Desert People. This is their tribal rodeo staged at Sells. About 1 of 10 Papago cotton pickers attended one of the two-day 1950 performances.[2] Wage laborers were augmented by great numbers of stay-at-homes, who filled the 2,500-seat capacity stands both days with help of a few hundred Anglo visitors from Tucson and other southern Arizona towns.

166 A few laborers return to the reserves for other
524 reasons--some women go home to their mothers when they
484 are due to parturate, although most seem to bear their
844 babies in labor camps without medical aid. Sometimes
[158] a quick trip home is necessary to look after animals or other property. But generally when the Desert People go to labor camps, they go to work steadily through the season. They leave only for--to them--pressing reasons.

796 Most farmers hiring Indians realize that religious
46 celebrations are very pressing reasons. Obligations
466 the Desert People feel they must fulfill at these times
[182] rise above considerations of steady work. The vow to
[188] St. Francis comes before some farmer's cotton, or the Papago's own job, and he will go to one of those three churches regardless of other duties. Farmers who realize the importance to the Papagos of their religion are much happier men at fiesta time than those who regard a job as the most important thing in the world.

466 However, many farmers do not understand the reli-
[461] gious beliefs of their Papago employees sufficiently to make allowances when Indians ignore prevalent Anglo
[484] work standards. And cotton growers resent the inconvenience involved in transporting Papagos. A Marana farmer remarked "One reason I never fool with Papagos is you have to take them to Sells 3 or 4 times a year." Another who hired Papagos griped that "Indians are more

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[1] 3 of 20 trips of known purpose were to San Xavier.
[2] 2 of 20 trips of known purpose were to the rodeo.